THE MADRAS REVIEW

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

To those people who are likely to lose heart at the seeming failure of the Non-Co-operation movement we say, Press on. *Nil desperandum.* To those who are likely to succumb to the passing trouble of repression, we recall the lines of the Poet.

"E'en now, in passing through the garden walks,
Upon the ground I saw a fallen nest,
Ruined and full of ruin ; and over it,
Behold, the uncomplaining birds, already
Busy in building a new habitation."

Let them take a lesson from these birds and carry on their work uncomplainingly.

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The 27th Session of the Madras Provincial Conference will meet in Tanjore next month. The increasing complexity of the political situation and the fact that Mr. Gandhi has promised to attend the Conference will make this year's session very important. We can think of no better name for the Presidentship of the Conference than that of Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar. Silent and serious as a politician, fearless as a patriot, independent as a journalist, no man of his years has in such abundance the democratic feeling of deference to the wishes of the people. The present writer, who was an official of the Reception Committee of the 25th Madras Provincial Conference, which met at Trichinopoly, is aware of how Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, with characteristic modesty, declined the Presidentship that year though he was elected, because he wished to make room for a Non-Brahman. Subsequently, the Raja of Ramnad presided. We may have our differences with Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar but that will not deter us from saying that the Tamil Province will be honoring itself by honoring him.

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The Madras Mahajana Sabha was faced with the alternative of either affiliating itself to the National Congress or of ceasing to exist as a serious political body. We are glad that, at a special meeting of the Sabha, the members decided, by a large majority, in favour of affiliating it with the National Congress. The opposition was led by leaders like Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Govindaraghavayer and Rangachari, so the case for the other side was heard by the members. It has been everywhere admitted that there are only two political parties in India now *viz.,* Non-Co-operators and Co-operators. While the former are earnestly sacrificing their all every day in the cause of the country, the latter are assiduously cultivating their relationship with the bureaucracy in order to secure the loaves and fishes of office. The distance between the two parties is now several leagues. The argument that there must be an association affording common ground for persons of various political parties is therefore meaningless.

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Lord Willingdon is always very original. His Excellency recently pursued one novel method of boosting the Reforms. He gave a dinner, or who gave it is not clear, to the members of the local Council, we beg pardon, Parliament without a whisper of it reaching the Press. When the function was over, the Governor ordered that his speech with that of two other fortunate persons be sent to the Press for publication. We can state that prominent men like Mr. S. Srinivasa-Ayengar did not attend it. What we are able to gather from these speeches is that Sir Theagaraya considers that Lord Willingdon is the greatest democrat in this Presidency and that the Governor is delighted to hear it. Again, Sir Theagaraya thinks that the Governor is very frank in his expression of views but the Governor thinks that Sir Theagaraya is also equally frank. So, between Sir Theagaraya and Lord Willingdon, when they first met each other in this Presidency, it was like Emerson meeting Carlyle. Each was astounded, we believe, at the democratic spirit displayed by the other and by the frank manner of the other's speech. After-dinner effusions are always pardonable, so we don't complain. But we can only marvel at the ignorance displayed by Lord Willingdon in thinking that by such speeches he can change the opinion of the people in favour of the Reforms. The change will be in the inverse direction.

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Readers of *New India* are aware that it gives weekly a caricature of the events in India. Caricaturing is an art which has been specially developed in European countries. The great influence which a paper like *Punch* exercises over the people is due not only to its humour but also to the suggestive and intelligent caricatures it gives. The Indian mind is not yet accustomed to this form of criticism because Indians are too good to bring effective ridicule on their po'

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opponents. That caricature is supreme which is very simple but which suggests much and which chastises the person against whom it is aimed at. We were not aware, before we perused that hotch-potch of vulgarity in page 3, of *New India* of April, 9, that the art of caricaturing can be reduced so low.

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The latest offspring of the Liberal party is what is called "Reforms Provincial Conference" which may be described as a lifeless and soulless farce. About 300 delegates met together in Calcutta and sat at the feet of the new Ministers to listen to a declaration of their political ponderosities. There were the usual oratorical fireworks and a rehearsal of some inane resolutions. What is the object of this Conference? It is, we believe, the creation of Sir Banerji who wants to demonstrate to the Government how grateful the people are for the Reforms conceded and at the same time how willing they are to recognise the political wisdom displayed by the Ministers. We are very thankful to Sir Banerji for letting out a great secret *viz.*, that their goal is Swaraj within the Empire. We thought that the goal of the Moderate leaders lay in the direction of Knighthoods and Peerages and, incidentally, of Ministerships. Well, after reading the proceedings of this bureaucratic show, we realise more clearly the soundness of Lala Lajpat Rai's indictment against the Moderate leaders.

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As an example of the complete change of feeling which has come over the minds of the people, we will point to the way in which Lord Willingdon was received in Salem. Some years ago, the visit of the Governor to a moffussil town will be celebrated like a festival and all the leading men of the place will vie with one another to shake hands with His Excellency. There will be loyal addresses presented to him and many courtiers will drop on their knees in the dirt to evoke a smile from the Governor. But the times are changed. There was no Municipal address presented to Lord Willingdon in Salem but, on the contrary, there was complete hartal. Many leading men were not present to welcome His Excellency. Lord Willingdon, accustomed as he has been to the most extravagant flattery for several years, must have found the new change disagreeable. We welcome the new spirit in the people which is in consonance with the democratic sentiment now prevailing in the country.

* * *

The Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler has issued a circular to all officials under him to do all in their power to counteract the Non-Co-operation movement. This has been done, we are told, with the concurrence of his Ministers. We recall, in this connection, an incident which took place in this Province some years ago. When the Home Rule agitation was at its height in 1916, Lord Pentland did not receive the support of his Indian colleague in the Executive Council in all the measures which he proposed to adopt to suppress it. In 1917, there was a change and a new Executive Councillor arrived. Without much forethought, he gave his entire support to Lord Pentland to intern the leading members of the Home Rule movement assuming that Indians would not or could not do anything against the mighty Government. The result of adopting this disastrous policy was evident and Lord Pentland has not yet recovered from the dispute to which he fell into. We think that a garrulous journalist who is now a Minister in the United Provinces is misleading Sir Harcourt Butler and encouraging him to take stern measures against the Non-Co-operation movement. The result will be more disastrous to the Government than it was in the year 1917.

OUR TASK.

Last week, we stated very briefly that the non-cooperators must carry on their work in spite of the fact that Lord Reading is India's Viceroy. In the first place, to suspend the non-cooperation movement, when the objects for which it was started have not been gained, would argue political insanity and take away that seriousness which is very essential for political victory. Secondly, extravagant optimism is the mother of disappointment. To expect that the new Viceroy will redress all our grievances even if we sit with folded hands is to invite failure. The demands of the nation are such that even if Earl Reading were sympathetic, he cannot of his own accord concede them without the concurrence of the British Parliament. We shall be helping him in his task by strengthening his hands. This does not mean that so far as the internal affairs are concerned the new Viceroy cannot show his sagacious head and sympathetic heart. Indians have need to be very careful at the present juncture and must not allow themselves to be carried away by sentimental catch-words.

It is nearly 8 months since the National Congress recommended to the people the adoption of the policy of non-cooperation along with a concrete programme of work which was amplified at the Nagpur Congress. It would be bootless to inquire at this stage whether we approve of every item recommended by the Congress. Our object is to examine what this movement has so far achieved and what are its potentialities for the future. During this brief period, false idols of the people have been broken, character has been enthroned and hyprocrisy dethroned from the public life. A feeling of self-reliance and a sense of humility are seen in many of the leaders. Sacrifices in men and money are no longer rare. People have realized their innate strength. They are no longer a loose unit to crumble at the first touch of authority. The response to the call of the country is everywhere ennobling and uplifting. There is no screaming and screeching, no unmeaning bluster, no frantic boast. The

unity between Hindus and Mussulmans has been largely achieved. There is an enormous awakening of the masses in India. The very basis of our public life has been purified and exalted. Here and there, undesirable incidents have taken place but in a great mass movement as this such things will occur but we have every reason to congratulate the people that those incidents are only few. A practical politician, on reading these things, will retort that these are abstract achievements and that they will not avail to redress our wrongs. Indeed, the preliminary training is over. It remains for the people to concentrate their attention upon the goal. Non-cooperation is a matchless weapon in the hands of a subject people. It is the only weapon for India placed as she is to-day.

For some time past there has been a rumour that the new Viceroy will call a conference of Indian leaders and discuss with them the present situation in India. While we have given good reasons why there should not be any relaxation of our present agitation, we would have no objection to our leaders attending such a conference. But we would suggest that this must be done in a constitutional manner. If such a conference were to be a serious affair, we must send our leaders properly. The All-India Congress committee must elect the number of persons invited by the Viceroy and these leaders must have clear instructions not to give way on any fundamental points without submitting them for the approval of the Congress Executive. Our object in saying all this is not based on any distrust of any leaders but, we believe, we have reached a stage in our political life when we must insist on things being done in a serious, businesslike and democratic way. If no such conference takes place, our present work will continue.

Having made our views clear, we desire to proceed one step further and outline a scheme which will satisfy us. We will not be bound down by it but we give it in order to provoke discussion. For our part, we should have no complaint if the following points are gained for the country. (1) Repeal of all repressive laws (2) Immediate complete Provincial autonomy (3) Cutting down the pensions of those concerned in the Punjab tragedy (4) An Act of Parliment guaranteeing the automatic introduction of complete Home Rule within 5 years and (5) Modification of the Turkish treaty to satisfy the opinion of the Turks in a reasonable way. If Lord Reading can force the British Government to assist him in granting these things, he can get over the present difficulties and incidentally, save India for the Empire. During the 5 years which we have set down as necessary for preparing ourselves for complete Home Rule, the people must be trained for self-defence. The energy of the people must be partly diverted to the amelioration of our social conditions. The elevation of the depressed classes must become a reality. There must be greater unity and harmony between the Hindus and the Mussulmans. All unnatural barriers between different castes and classes must be broken. A common language for India must be chosen and vigorously introduced. In one word, the energy of the leaders must be directed towards unifying the people and making them throb with a sense of nationality. These five years will also give Britishers and other foreigners in India reasonable time to prepare themselves for the new change and adjust their attitude towards Indians. The problem of the Indian States may also be satisfactorily settled within this period.

We feel that our task lies in this direction and if the leaders of India carry on their work fearlessly and energetically, India will attain her goal very soon.

REVIEWS.

Messrs. Ganesh & Co, Madras, have sent us several brightly printed volumes and pamphlets dealing with Indian politics. Freedom's Battle by Mahatma Gandhi, India's Will to Freedom by Lala Lajpat Rai, Swaraj in One Year by Mahatma Gandhi are collections from the speeches and writings of these renowned leaders. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has written an introduction to Mr. Gandhi's Freedom's Battle which is characterised by a simple, dignified and masterly analysis of the present political situation. The book contains otable pronouncements by Mr. Gandhi on all topics and must prove invaluable as a book of reference. The collections from the writings and speeches of the Lala are discriminating and the book contains also the constitution of the Tilak school of politics. Admirers of Lala Lajpat Rai must possess in handy form his views on the current political problems. As regards pamphlets, "The Soul of India" by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, which is a third edition, is appealing by virtue of the beauty of thought and the stateliness of diction of the renowned authoress. "How India Can Be Free" by Mr. C. F. Andrews, "At the point of the Spindle" by Sarala Devi Chaudharini and "The Ethics of Passive Resistance" by Mr, Maurice are very interesting. We congratulate the publishers for placing before the public such good and useful collections. One cannot rise after reading them, without becoming a nobler patriot and a better man.

HEART'S SECRET.

How can I to thy heart reveal
    The painful joy that throbs in me,
When other mouths flow full with praise,
    And other faces smile on thee?

New words, mere words, seem but the shell
    Whence diver's hands have torn the pearl;
Yet in the flood of futile rain
    One spark fire's banners may unfurl.

The words I speak thy lips have taught,
    And thou hast lit the thoughts that burn
My nature's ore to yield pure gold.
    They seek their home. O, do not spurn ;

REMEMBRANCE.

When thou dost say "forget me not,"
    My mind is filled with anxious cares,

For how can I, who know not self,
Remember thee enshrined therein.

SYMPATHY.

My dearest, when I saw thine eyes
Drooping in weariness and pain,
I felt as if my heart would rise
To shower on thee its balmy rain.

O, gladly would I bear thy load,
If but it is given me so to do.
But each must himself, what he sowed
Of sin, in travail reap, and rue.

If thus I feel whom God has made,
Can he, from whom all feeling flows,
Feel less for thee whom he has bade
In patience wait All these he knows.

K. G. SANKARA, B..A B.L.

REFLECTIONS BY A RECLUSE.

1. The sage is silent, the fool prattles.

2. The honey is sweet, the sting painful.

3. The lamp claims kinship with the sun and man affirms his relation to God.

4. The sunflower turns to the sun to do homage to its life giver; but does man turn to God his Master and Father to love and obey.

5. I live to learn, but I must also learn to live wisely.

6. Why should I be afraid of death? It is only a change of life—a transition from one state to another. Am I not immortal?

7. I live to love and be loved; but don't I love also to live and gain experience in this world?

8. The flower decks the head of a beautiful girl, but she throws it away when it fades. What is there in a faded flower which has lost its freshness and fragrance? When is your time, my dear girl? Do you know the art of perpetual youth and beauty?

9. The noise of the sea, the noise of the wind, or the noise in the music of the human voice is magnificent, but is not the noise in the silence more grand and beautiful.

10. The storm raged with fury during the night creating havoc alround, but peace came in its wake in the morning with all its glory.

11. I love mankind whether they love me or not. Peace comes to those who wish peace to others.

12. I praised God for the riches He gave me, but God came to me in my dream with a downcast face and called me a miserable fool.

13. I like to dream. Are not all men dreamers? Happy dreams come to my aid.

14. There is beauty and sunshine everywhere. Why should I be gloomy.

15. The firefly mocks at the stars and thinks that it is more bright than those tiny little dots, but the stars twinkle all the same in meek humility.

16. Why should I be proud of my small dwelling-house, when I can claim the whole world as mine.

17. There are discords and inharmonies in the music of life for want of proper tuning.

18. The horse kicks and rears but a clever rider sticks to his seat and makes it run. Is it not foolish of the horse to fret? Why not take a lesson from the horse and take life easily.

19. The wind strikes the tree and leaves it unaffected but the thought wave strikes the man and leaves him ruined or flourishing.

20. Once I travelled far and slept in a solitary place. I dreamt that I was amidst strangers and woke up to find myself in broad daylight among friends.

21. The cat on the wall is a capricious creature for it may jump either this way or that. Is not the mind like the cat on the wall.

22. The infant weeps, cries and laughs in turns. How happy is the innocent child in its dreams. Why not we men be happy and unconcerned as the little babe.

23. Rest after work. Work and rest go together. Without work there can be no real rest. Work we must to find rest.

24. The river flows to find its ocean, the bird flies to go to its rest and man runs to find his goal.

25. The spider weaves its web skilfully and then unwinds and absorbs it. Can man make and unmake like this?

26. We live amidst Nature and yet know very little of her because we do not study her properly.

27. I am like a flower. I wither away but I live as a seed and sprout again.

28. The man who wants to obtain salvation by worshipping images made by himself out of his own imagination is like the man who expects to reign over a kingdom acquired as a gift in a dream.

29. The world is a storehouse of powers-mighty, majestic and magnificent. What then of the creater of the universe.

30. The moon waxes and wanes by turns. It is not steady for it has to depend for its lustre on an other source. He who depends on others for support will never shine for any length of time.

31. I am a little kitten with closed eyes. When my eyes open I see the heaven and earth in all glory.

32. I am not a stranger to this world for I had been here before. I live among friends and God is my perpetual Host.

33. Why starve in mountain caves when there is plenty in the open fields.

34. If my door is shut to all comers, even the good will be shut out.

35. The fool is not afraid of the sage.

36. The madman claims kinship with the wise for he knows that the public will side with him.

37. Silly man—How I would like to pluck you and offer you to my God.

Blooming flower—Silly fool! Your God is human if he wants me at his feet.

38. Echo—How grand I sound. Voice—you are only a shadow. Please don't be vain.

39. The sun dies in the West to be born again with all his splendour and glory in the East.

40. For the enjoyment of pleasure there is the penalty of sorrow.

41. The physical will always complain for it is affected by the senses but the spirit within overcomes all difficulties for it is above the flesh.

42. When I was silent I heard a voice, when I shut my eyes I saw a light.

43. The tree thinks that it is the father of the seed and the seed laughs and replies that it gave birth to the tree.

44. First man—I have got a soul. Second man—No you are wrong there. You are the soul itself but you have got a body.

45. The Moon thinks that she is as great as the Sun but forgets that she is clothed in borrowed garments.

46. The clouds think that they are the benefactors of the world, but where do they get their water from?

47. I will give you all, says the cloud to the world; for she is sure she can get more from the occan near by.

48. Man in his greed grabs at everything and tries to keep them for himself. Does he take them with him when he goes on the long journey.

49. My shadow thinks that it is my real self, because I am a fool not to know who I am.

50. I am not afraid of God, why should I fear man.

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THE RT. HON. JUSTICE SIR CRIMINAL LAWLESS "MEMORIAL" ADDRESS.

[BY MR. E. S. SUNDA, B. A.]

Difficulties in choosing a subject worthy of the name of the Memorial, the donor and the awful majesty of the occasion for which it is intended, are too many to be stated here. A friendly lucubrator from the north—whose valour is always the better part of his discretion—suggested the onerous task of a dilation on "The necessity or otherwise of Barristers on the High Court Bench," while an anxious advocate of progress hinted to me the topic of "The Place of Dinners in Legal Education." Dissertation on subjects of this kind are entirely beyond my province, much less under the 'jurisdiction' of a College Day audience. A humbler subject like "A plea for the use of books in Law Examinations" appealed to me but it was vetoed as falling much below the dignity of this assembly. You will pardon me, gentlemen, consequently, when I am forced to take up a subject, which I presume, is the favourite of Law students both in the East and the West, North and the South, an exercise for which Law Colleges are always distinguished and happily a noisy but invisible weapon in the hands of students against masters of a certain temper. All beings, human and non-human, are gifted with powers of resistance. The leading case of *Brown* v. *Kendall* states that dogs fight with their mouths, but in *Cox* v. *Burbidge*, the horse kicks a man! Providence is always universally kind. The Law College Professor in the act of punishing, proclaims with a gentle stroke of his pen, '*out goes a week's attendance*'. The students take to their legs—of course not to their heels—in disapprobation and this superior restraint in chastisement. Sometimes this experiment is also done in various other cases of intense joy aud grateful approval of master's conduct. What is it, then, that leads to this violent attachment between the legs and the floor of the gallery? Gentlemen, the psychology of stamping is indeed a difficult problem to understand. A professor in one of our Indian Universities with all seriousness apologetically began one day: "Gentlemen; I have been on trial for the last 20 years ever since I entered the College to understand the psychology of stamping, I have been noting........." Before he finished the sentence. he got himself stamped. His beseeching request then was: "yes, gentlemen, I want to know the cause of this." The reply was again a noisy demonstration by the legs. "I may suspend the class," threatened the professor. This admonition increased only the vigour of his students and the lecturer had to look small in his own eyes. After a few minutes with composure he began "I am sorry for the event at the commencement of the class and also the sentiments I expressed." The students replied with a triumphant stamping punctuated with laughter. Naturally under these circumstances, a good professor with control over students is a 'continuing' wonder of the present era.

Stamping is not De Quincey's coldblooded fine art of murder nor is it the militarist's gun shot which honors the wounded with instant cremation. It is more subtle, less artificial but greatly effective. The gentleman stamped is a picture for painter. He is a statue of despair, the moving representative of intense cynicism and the arch-stoic patiently pocketing all insults. For the first time in the world, reason and instinct meet in the art of stamping and also proclaim—to use an expert's phrase—"the uniform universality" in all people. An event or an utterance that ought to deserve the honor of a stamp appeals instinctively and simultaneously everybody. The expression "organised stamping" is a misnomer as nobody organises it. The art is a monument of God's creation which proves the one-ness of human life, whatever may be the outward colour, of individuals. It is the delicate touch stone which tests the self respect, manliness and dignity of a person: Souls—Christian, Mussalman or Hindu, all agree in the necessity of the art of stamping. It is stated that in one of the Western universities a gentleman was caught in this noble act of vindicating manhood! The irate Professor stood for his dismissal while the hero of the

art with conscious innocence said : Thank you, Sir, any way dismissal is too much but too little for the pleasure I enjoyed; Stamping is born with me."

Of the several causes that lead to this fine exercise of human instinct, only a few of the important can be noted. Boring is par excellence the finest occasion for stamping. A continued volley of words, the meaning and appr priateness of which defy even the authors of the new, Oxford Lexicon, Orator Bahadurs who, in their delivery, create new grammer, pronunciations which immediately develop into a dialect, demand really the kind notice of our art. A Vice-Chancellor of an University, of all persons in the world, got himself stamped when he in his address talked of a volunteer corpse for a volunteer corps. Gentlemen, there are bores and bores. Religious boring without reaching the danger-zone of Vedantism or the doctrine of transmigration of souls is sometimes tolerated, one also acquiesces in a literary boring, if it is for instance on Shakespeare's Sonnets, on the romance of a Rosalind or the orient songs of a Laurrence Hope. But a legal talk say. on "Land Tenure" or Hindu Law Reform," or a scientific study of the 'Cult of Hatred" is, to say the least, boring in excelcis. In one of the Law College of Northern India, a Professor on Constitutional Law put the question to the class: "what do you suggest for the short term. Indian Contract Act or Specific Relief Act"—a quick witted student from the Arctic Zone of the gallery slyly mumbled—"Wont we have specific relief now!" Gentlemen, contractual agreement means obligation. More intense is the relation between boring and stamping. They are correlative. Bores do imply stampers. Else bores will easily ride over the world much to the disadvantage of the helpless.

The second important impetus for the promotion of the art of stamping is perpetual-note-dictation. Gentlemen, in Rome as elsewhere, dictators were alaways usurpers of authority and short lived. But now a days in Law Colleges, they seem to be eternal and they grow with the College year by year. No end to their dictation! No damage to their throat! Their horses are always geniuses and announce to the students with their trot and tinkling sounds the horrors of a note taking! After all, the art of stamping does not suffer in the least by this arrangement. A professor talks vehemently thrice emphatically of *ratification* when he means *ratification*, of *indemnity* when he intends *identity*. Another dictator with really dictatorial spirit, not suffering from the pangs of conscience states once 'the defendant is hanged' but after a few seconds he corrects himself by saying 'rather the Plaintiff is hanged.' One does not know whether for such misstatement of justice, a professor with such discriminating powers could get himself hanged one day! Peace be with his soul! It is rather unfortunate that professors should have any prejudice against the word "dictation." They have the belief that they lecture daily! Entering into the Class, a Professor put an impersonal question 'What did I lecture on yesterday!' A student's voice from a corner replied: "you mean, Sir, dictated on." The professor understood the joke of the student but outwitted him by putting him an additional question with ambiguous terms: "What did I do yesterday?" The boy rose to the occasion. 'Sir, you did seduction.' One need hardly say that the passage at arms was punctuated with stamping.

Another main source of contribution to the art is the students in general. The unlicensed—but one mutually understood—institution of proxy is a never failing incentive to the promoters of stamping. Proxy as a principle is observed and should be observed by all well-wishers of the art. A should be represented by B even if A is in the Class and D should call out for C even if the latter is bodily present within the four walls of the room. To afford opportunities for stamping, interested and benevolent gentlemen should take seriously to identify thenselves by some twenty-first-century psychic powers with at least three of their fellow students and try to present them all successfully. Says Lord Sri Krishna in the Bhagavat Gita: "Do your duty, never care for the fruits'. So also, gentlemen; let proxy be your principle, your banner, every time you represent somebody else you get a stamping—consequently you encourage the art.

One word more. It was in the eighties of the last century that the late Sir V. Bashyam at the Marina said to one of his moffusil juniors thus: The Arts College is only presumed, note the word, to teach three R's but one can say of the law colleges that they really teach three P's. (i) push; *i. e.*, the art of getting on in the world (ii) puff—to smoke so well sometimes to be misunderstood as two legged engines and (iii) proxy—the ever benevolent institution. Had Sir Bashyam lived to-day, he would have added with apologies 'stamping' as the fourth in the list. The Mother of Parliaments recognises the art in every one of its periodical session and it is but right that the practice so reverentially observed in the sovereign assembly should be promulgated in all corporations in the dominions under its control. Indian students have taken up the art rather fairly well and it is the devout prayer of all that they should progress early towards the destined goal. Let the last words of the Prophet of the art conclude the address; with apologies to the poet.

Bore, sir, bore, let stamp be thy answer,
On Proxy, on, let stamp be thy honour.

A Child's guide to India.

(Scene: An Anglo-Indian house in England.)

Q.—Father, what is India?

A.—A distressful country.

Q.—Why is it distressful, father?

A.—Because the Indians are fools.

Q.—Why are they fools, father?

A.—Because they do not know when they are well off

Q.—When are they well off, father?

A.—Now.

Q.—Then why is there so much firing and shooting?
A.—That is due to the Non--Co-operationists.
Q.—What do they want to do?
A.—They want to manage their own affairs.
Q.—Is that very wicked, father?
A.—Very wicked indeed.
Q.—What ought we to do then, father?
A.—We must be firm.
Q.—Is that the right policy, father?
A.—Of course.
Q.—Than I suppose India is nearly settled now?
A.—Not quite. But we must be firm.
Q.—Why, father?
A.—Well, think how our prestige would suffer otherwise.
Q.—What is our prestige, father?
A.—Our honour.
Q.—Why would it suffer, father?
A.—Because people would think we could not keep the Indians down?
Q.—Are we keeping them down, father?
A.—Of course, we are.
Q.—Then is our prestige all right?
A.—Quite all right.
Q.—Father, what is repression?
A.—It is another name for justice.
Q.--Justice for whom, father?
A.—For the Non-Co-operators, of course.
Q.—What is the meaning of repression?
A.—It means violence for violence, etc.
Q.—Do the Non-Co-operators commit violence?
A.—Invariably.
Q.—Then do we have to commit violence too?
A.—That is not violence.
Q.—Why not?
A.—Because it is done by the Government.
Q.—What is the difference, father?
A.—The difference is that the English Government has a united people at its back.
Q.—Has the Government got that, father?
A.—Certainly.
Q.—Father, have the Indians ever managed their own affairs?
A.—Certainly not.
Q.—Why not?
A.—Because they could not do it.
Q.—Can we do it for them, father?
A.—We must. It is our duty.
Q.—What is our duty?
A.—I mean that we must set them an example.
Q.—Is that what repression is for, father?
A.—No. That is to show that this great Empire...
Q.—Yes, father?
A.—Which has just emerged from this devastating catastrophe...
Q.—Yes, father?
A.—Do not interrupt...is not going to be intimidated by a numerically insignificant gang of moonlighters and footpads.
Q. (Admiringly)—You know that bit off by heart, father! Is that all the Non—Co-operators are?
A.—What?
Q.—A gang of what you said?
A.—Certainly.
Q.—How clever a few men like that must be to subdue the whole country.
A.—Oh, they are supported by outside influence.
Q.—Who are supporting them, father?
A.—The Bolsheviks, of course.
Q.—What a lot of things the Blosheviks seem: to be doing, father?
A.—That is true.
Q.—What is Home Rule, father?
A.—Complete madness.
Q.—Why father?
A.—Because Mr. Tilak invented it.
Q.—Was everything that Tilak did mad, father?
A.—Quite.
Q.—Then what does Indian Swarajya mean?
A.—It would mean the ruin of England.
Q.—Why, father?
A.—Because the Indians would drive the British out of India.
Q.—But, father, surely, this great Empire
A.—You don't understand!
Q.— ... which has just emerged from this devastating catastrophe
A.—What do ... !
Q.— is not going to be intimidated by...
A.—Cyrel, your hair is a disgrace. Go and wash.

[Exit.]

(With apologies to him to whom they are due.)

[The Mahratta.]

All-India Congress Committee Meeting at Bezawada.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution No. 1—In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, all Congress organisations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon.—

(1) Bringing the All-India TilakMemorial Swarajya fund to one crore of rupees before the 30th June next, each Congress province to collect in ratio of its population.

(2) Putting on the Congress register one crore of members before the 30th June next, each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population.

(3) Introducing timely into villages and houses 20 lakhs of *charkas* (spinning wheels) in good working order, and before

the 30th June next, each province to introduce the number of *charkas* in ratio of population.

BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT LAW COURTS.

Resolution No. 2—The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organisation of the panchayats and trusts that the people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government law courts.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DRINK.

Resolution No. 3—This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent Non-co-operation by taking up a compaign against drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

Resolution No. 4—(a) The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of officials in various provinces against Non-Co-operators in pursuit of the policy of repression are totally unwarranted by situation in the country, and are in most cases, pronounced by the highest legal opinion to be illegal. (b) The Committee believes that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by the Congress in the country's pursuit after Swarajya and the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs. (c) This Committee is of opinion that apart from the fact that Civil Disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution relating to Non-Co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised and ripe for the immediate taking up of Civil Disobedience. (d) This Committee, by way of preparation, therefore, advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them, and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by Government and that the people at large instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by such orders will continue their work of quiet organisation and construction sketched by the Congress resolution.

NANKANA TRAGEDY.

Resolution No. 5—The All-India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana massacre and tenders its respectful condolence to the families of the victims of the tragedy and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them.

BURMANS CONGRATULATED.

Resolution No. 6—This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese nation in their great struggle for freedom and sympathises with them and with Mr. Wottama in their trouble created by the repressive measures adopted by the Government resolution.

CONGRATULATIONS TO POLITICAL SUFFERERS.

Resolution No. 7—The All-India Congress Committee congratulates all those who are suffering by way of imprisonment or otherwise in the cause of religion and India's freedom.

Resolution No. 8—The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organisation of panchayats, and trusts that the people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government law courts.

Resolution No. 9—This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent Non-Co-operation by taking up the campaign against drink evil, and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by the persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

"COMRADE."

A TALE BY MAXIM GORKI.

In this city everything was strange and hard to understand. Innumerable churches raised their bright, many-coloured heads into the heavens. But the walls and chimneys of the factories were higher than the bell-towers, and the temples, smothered by the facades of the heavy business-houses, lost themselves in the dead intricacies of stone walls, like wonderful flowers amidst the rubble and dust of ruins. And when the church bells called to prayer, their brazen cries, creeping over the iron of the roofs, faded away in the narrow clefts between the houses.

The houses were mighty and often beautiful. The men were misshapen and always insignificant. From morning till night they ran about busily, like grey mice, through the narrow, crooked streets of the city; and with hungry eyes some sought bread, some distraction. Others, standing at the crossings, watched with hostile and sharp gaze how the weak humbly cast themselves down before the strong. Strong was the name given to the rich. It was believed by all that money alone gave men power and freedom. They all wanted power, for they all were slaves. The sumptuous living of rich engendered the hatred and envy of the poor. No better music was known than the clink of gold, and, therefore, each was the enemy of the other and the lord over all was Cruelty.

From time to time the sun shone on the city; but life was always dark there, and the men like shadows.......All were enemies and all guilty. Only a few thought themselves to be the just. And they were crude as animals; they were the most terrible of all......And there was no music in this life but the stifled cries of pain and spite, the whispering of hidden rage, the fearful howls of ferocity, the lewd whine of lust.......

Then through the city there began to pass lonely dreamers, who were filled with faith in mankind, in all, far

and near, preachers of insurrection, incendiary sparks coming from the distant fire of truth. Secretly they bore into the cellars the fruitful seeds of a simple and lofty doctrine...... lighting the dark hearts of men, of the slaves who by the power of the greedy, the will of the ferocious, had become blind tools of profit.

And these gloomy, hunted men heard with mistrust the music of the new words, a music which their yearning hearts had long looked for. But gradually they lifted their heads, tearing asunder the bonds of crafty lies with which they had been entwined.

Into their daily work, with its torpid, stifled rage; into their hearts, poisoned by many injuries; into their minds, choked with the checkered lies produced by the wisdom of the strong; into all this dreary, laborious life, saturated by the bitterness of the humble, a simple, luminous word was cast:

Comrade!

It was not a new word to them. They had heard it and even uttered it. But hitherto it had given forth the same empty, muffled sound as all the other well-worn words which men may forget without losing aught.

Now it rang clear and strong, with a new tone. In it there sang another soul, and their was a ring in it of something hard, sparkling, with many polished sides, like a diamond. They took it up and began to utter it warily, guardedly, lightly swaying it in their hearts as a mother rocks her new-born babe in its cradle, adoring it.

And the deeper they saw into the clear soul of the word, the more lucid, the more significant, the brighter it seemed to them.

"Comrades!" they said.

And they felt that this word had come to unite the world, to raise all mankind to one height of freedom and to bind them with new strong bonds of respect for each other, of respect for the freedom of men, for the sake of their own freedom.

When this word had grown into the hearts of the slaves they ceased to be slaves, and they uttered to the city and all its power those fine human words, "I will not!"

Then life stood still, because they were the force that gave it movement—they and they only.

The water ceased to flow, the fires went out, the city sank into darkness, and the strong were as children.

Fear filled the souls of the oppressors, and...they stifled their rage aginst the agitators, amazed and horrified at their power.

The spectre of famine rose up before them, and their children wept daily in the darkness......Ominous silence flooded the streets, soaking them with its deadness, its witness. Life stood still because because the power which had engendered it had become aware of itself, and the man-slave had found the magic, conquering word for the expression of his will had freed himself from oppression and openly recognised his own power, the Creator's power......Cold and dark, the blind windows of the houses looked down into the streets, and the real rulers of life walked there proudly. They, too, were hungry, even more so than the others. But they were aware, and the sufferings of their bodies were not so hard to bear as the sufferings of the false rules of life. The fire of their souls was not extinguished.

In the little narrow streets of the horrible city, amidst the cold, silent walls, which had been built by the hands of unknown builders, there grew and ripened the noble faith of men in the brotherhood of all Comrade.

Now here, now there, a flame flickered up that was destined to grow into a fire which would spread over the whole earth the clear consciousness of the kinship of all men. It spreads over the whole world and burns to ashes the spite, the hatred, and the ferocity which deform us. It takes hold of every heart and melts them all into one single world-heart, the heart of true and noble men; it merges them together in one inseparable, single family of free men, working men.

In the streets of the dead minded city which was built by slaves, in the streets of the city where cruelty had reigned, there grew and was strengthened the belief in man, in his victory over himself and over evil.

And in the chaos of troubled, joyless life like a bright radiant stand shedding its guiding light into the future, shines the simple word, deep as the heart:

Comrade! *The Hindustan Review.*

THE NON-GAZETTED GOVT. OFFICER'S ASSOCIATION.

BULLETIN No. 10 OF 1921.

The budget for 1921-22 has finally been passed by the local Legislative Council and it has to be inferred that the figures in the preliminary issue of the Budget are the final ones as regards the scales of pay to obtain for the non-gazetted services, with perhaps the minimum pay increased by Rs. 5 but the increment in the first stage is reduced by Rs. 0-8-0 at the same time in accordance with the recommendation of the new Salaries Committee. It is true that this Committee has not yet submitted its final report and that it may, if it so chooses, suggest modification of the scales proposed; but the trend of the interim report makes any violent modifications rather remote and improbable. Thus, after a loud and continuous cry for justice for nearly 2 years, the scales of pay which have been in one voice condemned as inadequate, retrograde and unjust, are to be forced upon the non-gazetted officers and, even here, they are not to have their initial salaries fixed with reference to their length of service and the benefit of retrospective effect from the 1st October 1919, as prayed for by them. In speaking on the motions for the reduction of budget grants, more than one non-official member regretted

the scant consideration shown to the representations of the non-gazetted officers and urged on Government—the imperative need of according a just and impartial treatment to them; but yet here they are, their cry unheard, their demands unmet and their hopes unrealized. Never, in the course of the discussion, did any member of Government utter a word indicating his sympathy for these hard-pressed services, a bitter contrast indeed to the statement of His Excellency the Governor that his Government would take a parental interest in them. This contrast was brought out more clearly by the readiness with which the Government members stood up for opposing the reduction of even a pie in the allotment for the Gazetted service. When the omission for the provision of duty allowances to certain gazetted officers was suggested, there rose up members to explain that these allowances were intended as a compensation for the irksome or arduous nature of the work. When again the deletion of the provision for payment of increased salaries to certain classes of gazetted officers was recommended, champions were not wanting on the side of the Government to proclaim that it would be unjust to deny to particular classes what has already been granted to others! When, lastly, the omission of the provision for payment of arrears of salaries at the revised rates to certain gazetted officers was moved, justice and consistency were again called in requisition to prove that it would be invidious to cut the provision and that it would not go to promote a healthy, contented and loyal service. When grants can be voted to increase the salaries of highly-paid officials by percentages varying from 40 to 60, cannot the non-gazetted officers ask for an increase to make existence possible? When the Exchequer can bear the drain involved in allowing these highly paid officers to draw arrear salaries amounting to thousands in each individual case, is it fair on the part of the Government to refuse to extend this concession to the non-gazetted officers, who are finding it hard to make both ends meet? Why dilate upon this lurid contrast? It is for the members of the non-gazetted services to recognize their position well at least now and bestir themselves to perfect their organization. If they have the least doubt the fact that, but for their organized demand, they would not have had even the pittance that is now offered to them—pittance indeed as compared with the princely minima, maxima and even increments sanctioned to the higher services—that doubt must have been cleared by now. Let them understand therefore that, in union and union alone, lies their strength and, in their capacity to stand by their organization, their future salvation.

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